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872 779 on the whole future life of the young scholars. As long as these monastic schools are attended, all attacks on the Buddhist faith must be fruitless.

872 779 792 Besides the commandments, the paya-shekho, and the pareit-yôp-thi, the lauds of the Lord Buddha, and the aspirations to be repeated at the holy shrines, the formulæ to be told over on the beads; besides these first principles, the young Burman is taught the thin-ki-ya, the rules which are to prepare him for assuming the yellow robe, and to guide him during his longer or shorter withdrawal from the sinful world to the calm tranquillity of the monastery. He must learn that the young novice carefully imitates the decorous pace of the yahan; does not walk fast; avoids swinging his hands; does not smile or laugh in passing through a village, and keeps far away from all secular amuse-
[292] ments. The yellow robe, distinctive of the order, is to be regarded not as a garment to cherish and comfort the wearer, not as a robe to adorn the outward man and make it look stately or pious, but merely as a concession to modesty, born of the weaknesses of poor human flesh—and further, as a means of enabling the worthless frame to endure the
[261] extremes of heat and cold. In the same way food is to be eaten only to support life. The member of the sacred order must not think of meal times as an occasion for gratifying his senses; he must avoid dwelling on the tastiness of the food and the gratification to his palate which the pious zeal of a supporter may afford in presenting an unusually dainty meal. Especially must he refrain from eating food to make himself strong and lusty. He must always remember the transitoriness, the misery and unreality of the world, and find relief in the Triple Consolation, the trust in the Lord, the Law, and the Assembly.

All these things are impressed on the young pupil as soon as he is able to read at all, every one of them assuming the fact that as soon as he is old enough, or as soon as he has gone through the necessary preparation, he will assume the yellow robe of the devout, to wear it perhaps for life, perhaps only for a day or two, but certainly to put it on, for
[885] without this he cannot attain to the full privileges of a man.
[777] His kan (luck) will be altogether one-sided. All the ill deeds

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pally due to the fact that the stranger is not a Buddhist, and has not as a boy been admitted into a monastery. To a Burman such a man is no better than a buffalo or a dog. In those of low degree this feeling shows itself in pitying kindness, in those in high positions in arrogance and insulting rudeness.

The unpleasant allegations of Father San Germano may be considered cancelled by the advocacy of the two military gentlemen, but there remains the united charge of unwarrantable laziness. Let us see what can be said for the defence on this point.

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It may be taken for granted that the whole human race is more or less hampered by a dislike for work when there is no necessity for doing it. In addition to sharing this weakness, the Burman is fettered by a multiplicity of fortunate and unfortunate days. When he is born, his sadā, or horoscope, is cast, detailing minutely the moment at which he appeared, and the influence the presiding constellation has over him personally; and this sadā must be carefully examined before anything can be done. But beyond this there are a great variety of unlucky days which more or less concern everybody, and have to be avoided if a man is to hope for success in his enterprise or his journey. To enlist the sympathy of maritime England, I will begin with the superstition about Friday:

Thaukkya ye gyaung
Ma thwa kaung.

On Friday boats sailing
Cause weeping and wailing.

On the contrary, if you begin the study of a subject on Friday you will become an authority on it. Thursday is also a good day; but if you commence on Tuesday or Saturday you will soon die. Saturday is a bad day for everything, especially for fires—a fact which the Fire Brigade would probably corroborate. But doubtless it is somewhat irritating for an Englishman when he wants to commence a journey, and has everything ready except the bullocks for the cart, to find that he cannot persuade his servants to buy or engage them till Sunday, because such a proceeding would

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777 bring disaster on everybody connected with it. He declares it is dilatoriness, or the desire to stay and see some feast; whereas it is a matter of conscience, and was taught to the Burman in a rhyme when he was a little boy at school.

777 302 Similarly there are regulations as to the days proper for washing one's head. This is a regular ceremony, performed only once a month or so, partly because it takes a long time with the Burman's luxuriant hair; partly because many people, especially in the small Talaing villages in Pegu, believe that too frequent washings would disturb and irritate the genius who dwells in the head and protects the man. Therefore when you collect the bark and saponaceous seeds and other material for the operation, you must remember that it is unlucky to wash your head on Monday, Friday, and Saturday. In the same way, parents sending their boy into the monastery must remember not to cut his hair on a Monday, a Friday, or on his birthday. A Burman's birthday, it must not be forgotten, occurs once a week, and his name recalls the day.

777 This circumstance gives rise to a number of barriers to the proceedings of the children of particular days, all of which are taught in the linga, the doggerel rhymes of the monastic and lay schools. Pyatthada ne (unlucky days) are as follows: Thursday and Saturday in the months of Tagu (April), Wagaung (August), and Na'daw (December). The months do not exactly correspond. Tagu, the first month of the Burman year, is really half April and half May; Na'daw, half December and half January, and so on; which must be remembered in the months mentioned below. Thursday and Saturday mean that the people born on those days are invariably unlucky in the specified three months, and had consequently much better remain at home, talking, smoking, and chewing betel, even though it irritate good missionaries, like San Germano, than endeavour to do work of any kind which could only result unfortunately. The monastery rhyme may be rendered as follows:—

Tagu the hot, Wagaung the wet,
Na'daw the dull and chilly,
Scowl on the serpent and the rat,
So rest ye, willy nilly,—

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the serpent being the sign of Saturday, and the rat of Thursday. Similarly the sons of Wednesday and Friday are debarred from work in Kasôn (May), Tawthalin (September), and Pyatho (January):

Kasôn, Pyatho, and Tawthalin,
These months are right unlucky,
For Friday and for Wednesday
At home or in Kentucky.

Sunday and Monday are bad days in the months of Nayôn (June), Thadingyut (October), and Tabodwè (February):

The tiger and the gusty roc
Must shun Nayôn and Thadingyut,
Eke Tabodwè with dripping lock,
Whate'er they do 'twill bear no fruit.

The tiger is the symbol for Monday; the Galôn, or roc, for Sunday. Tabodwè is the foggiest month of the year.

The Waso (July), Ta'saungmôn (November), and Tabaung (March), those under the sign of the lion (Tuesday), and the tuskless elephant, Haing—which represents the dark planet Yahu, and makes an eighth day of Wednesday after noontide—are shut out from active labour:

In month Tabaung, 'twixt hot and cold,
Ta'saungmôn, Waso breezy,
Yahu and Tuesday's human fold
Must take it precious easy.

On the other hand there are Yet Yaza, "kingly days," during which the Burman will display "much spasmodic energy." Such are Friday and Monday in April; Saturday and Thursday in May; Tuesday in June; Sunday and Wednesday in July; Friday and Wednesday in August; Thursday and Saturday in September; Tuesday in October; Tuesday and Yahu (noon to midnight on Wednesday) in November; Friday and Wednesday in December; Thursday and Saturday in January; Thursday and Tuesday in February; Saturday and Wednesday in March.

Cease to weary,
Whose lot's dreary,
On these kings of kingly days.

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It must, of course, be borne in mind that these days are only lucky for those who were born on them, and not for everybody.

With all this the Burman is in a very considerable difficulty between lucky and unlucky days. If he declines a piece of work because it is his unlucky season, or undertakes it, but delays commencing till his fortunate time shall come round, the foreigner accuses him of laziness in the one case and dawdling in the other. Yet many Englishmen would not sit down as one of thirteen to dinner.

It would be bad enough if this were all; but there are other matters calling for the observance of the Burman if he would consult his well-being. It is ordained for him by paternally solicitous astrologers in what directions he must not travel at certain seasons of the year. This is regulated by the nagā hlè. The Nagā is a huge creature, half dragon, half serpent, coiled round the world, and gradually and steadily crawling in a constantly repeated circle; so that his head is now in one place, now in another; the circuit being completed in a year, and following the direction of the hands of a watch. You can journey from the tail towards the head with safety, but not from the direction of the head towards the tail, for then you would go straight into the monster's jaws. It is safe to go across in any direction. As long as you know the position of the head, therefore, you are safe; and this is recorded for you in the usual linga:

> From March to May, all April through,
> The huge Nagā towards Mount Meru
> His belly turns, his back to south;
> The west he frights with open mouth;
> His tail curled up holds all the east.
> Mark well how lies the grisly beast.

From June to August, therefore, the head is to the north, and you must not go southwards; from September to November the west is barred to you, and from then on till March it is dangerous to go north.

The difficulty an Englishman occasionally finds in getting boatmen to go in a particular direction, or porters to carry his baggage across country, is therefore easily accounted for without any necessity for stigmatising the Burmese as

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hopelessly lazy and averse to steady labour. The fact that men are always to be got eventually is no argument against the general belief in the theory, for the English persuade people to all manner of iniquity. Staunch members of the Order of the Yellow Robe will tell you that the brandy-drinkers and the opium-eaters (whom the English Thathanabaing, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and other good people believe to be so very numerous in Burma) are very frequently proselytes, and, at any rate, have been much influenced by the white foreigners. And probably every officer in the Commission who has at length got together a band of men to journey towards the naga's jaws will bear out the assertion that they must have been a bad lot, and drank raw spirits and chewed opium enough to gladden the heart of an anti-opium society man in search of a frightful example.

It may be asserted that the unlucky days were invented as an excuse for laziness; but the prevalence of the system with regard to other matters disproves this. For example, the blind god is supposed to laugh at barriers of rank and time and space; but most Burmans have a profound belief in the yan-pet linga—the rhyme of hostile pairs, referred to in the chapter on marriage. Again, in forming a partnership for purposes of trade, or the like, a due regard must be paid to birthdays. Lucky combinations are as follows:—Sunday and Friday, Tuesday and Thursday, Saturday and Wednesday, Monday and Yahu.

When you get a Burman on his lucky day, he will display an amount of "spasmodic energy" which has surprised many travellers into calling him hard-working. The boatmen on the Irrawaddy and the Sittang often row six, eight, and even ten hours at a stretch, on no more solid food than cold boiled rice, with a fragment or two of salt fish or curried vegetables. But that is when it is their "kingly day." Try them on a pyatthada day, and they will not even drift with the stream.

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The key to high positions lies in education in the high schools and Universities. Family support is necessary for this and the student is constantly aware of his obligation to succeed for their benefit. "One tree can support a thousand birds" illustrate the dependency of the relatives on the successful individual.

In order to succeed one needs each of these three qualities: KAMMA (fate or luck), NYAN (intelligence), and WIRIYA(industriousness The failure of any one can cause the lack of success. Ordinarily, however, KAMMA is blamed in cases of failure - and the other two credited for success. The concept of KAMMA includes merit and demerit compiled in all previous existances. Because of this convenient excuse the true causes of failure are seldom analysed by the individual and he does not have a sense of personal blame or shame. Also social condemnation does not fall heavily on the unsuccessful who has tried and failed. However, one should finish what he starts or not attempt it, "once you start climbing the pole you must reach the top". The individual may not achieve fame or fortune but he is expected to maintain his birth position. His relatives, who suffer shame if he does not, help him. A major contribution of the individual is an advantagous marriage within or above his occupational group.

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What does one strive for, by work, in the Burmese society? Not subsistence, for food is ordinarily cheap and easily attained in the villages. Clothing, shelter and the other necessities of life are also not the objective. The subsistence pattern is simple and essentially homogeneous throughout the village.

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The ordinary head of a household thinks of three major bemefits to be gained from wealth. The first and most immediate are jewels to adorn the women of the family. The status of the family is reflected in public by the bangles, necklaces and earrings worn by the ladies. Diamonds are most prized and the size is important. However, most important is that each female be provided with "a set" of jewelry. The wife of the middle and upper status group particularly will prod the husband until he provides these necessities. The women's clothing and also the husbands and his son's must also be the finest they can afford.

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The second urge for wealth arises out of the desire for old age security. Hence gold coins are saved (hidden) against the day when

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the husband is too old to work. Aged parents are invariably respected but those who can still support themselves are "worshipped". Parents do not rely on their sons who have their own families to support but feel that their daughters will always "bring them a cup of curry".

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The third urge is to have wealth to donate to the Buddhist church. This is regarded as a sound investment since it not only brings a most satisfying honour especially in old age (to be a "pagoda giver") but also counts as merit credited to the individual's account in eternity.

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Competition is keenly felt between individuals and families of the same occupation group or adjacent groups but not between the lower and upper classes. An exception is where family traditional land has changed hands - and hard feelings may persist. A carpenter's family does not envy and covet the riches of a government official's family. His lot is due to KAMMA and even if he wished to attain such fortune it would be beyond his abilities. More important, it is not expected of him. So the carpenter is content with cheap jewelry for his women and an occasional gold coin - but the pattern is the same as for the upper class. However among the individuals and families of an occupation level there is much rivalry for the benefits wealth can bring. It is a point of pride to have the largest diamonds at a social function, and to give the biggest pagoda. Wives brag that their husbands "prevent the hairs of their hands from singeing" - that they have servants to cook. Rank and recognition are based on these considerations.

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The women of the family exert powerful influence in financial matters and are respected for their sound judgement. Women's occupations include cigar manufacturing, pottery making, and especially shop keeping.

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The beginning of an enterprise is conditioned by the wisdom of the ancients and especially the date and place which are given by formula in the Burmese calendar. There are YET-NAZA (day king of) "fortunate days" and PYAD-THADA "unlucky days". For example the calendar announces that Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays of a particular month are fortunate days to begin enterprises, and other days either unfortunate or neutral. Rangoon sophisticates (but never villagers) tell such stories as this: Two phongyis travelled by boat; the first boarded the boat on a fortunate day to begin travelling. The next day the boat came to the second phongyi's village. This was an unfortunate

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day on the calendar but the second phongyi decided to embark anyway. Both phongyis were lost when the boat sank that day.

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The revered position of phongyis is open to all regardless of birth or position. It is felt that some take up the robe because they are unsuccessful in life, or wish an "easy living" - but perhaps this attitude is one of modern sophisticates. Certainly the dominant position of the brotherhood is unchallenged. Occasionally differences arise between the headman and the phongyis of a village. But the phongyis invariably prevail. Offending laymen can be "deprived the gate of heaven" by phongyis refusing to accept HSOON, alms, from th this is called inverting the begging bowl THA-BEIT-MAUK-TAI (Begging bowl-upturn) and is the current phrase for any sort of a "strike".

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Some unprincipalled phongyis have sought to enrich themselves by accepting gifts of land or other property, or by selling gifts for money to traders When they leave the brotherhood and become laymen again this property becomes theirs. Such occurrences appear to be rare and are controlled by stipulations of the givers. For example a donor would hesitate to give paddy land to a suspected phongyi but might agree to giving the crops while retaining title.

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The government or administrative class is looked up to with great respect - in part a carry over from the days of royalty, in part an attitude towards power and influence. However, while the villager today may not know the details of the new constitution he knows there is a "code" wherein he can secure impartial justice.

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The concept of KARMA (fate) is important only in determining the general well-being of the individual, as seen in Daw Aw Zar's belief that her general good health was due to a morally-lived previous existence. "It is like a shadow". Some specific situations like being born blind is attributed to ones KARMA - in this case the person had been a notorious fighter of cocks in the previous existence; cocks being frequently blinded in the fights.

Each person is regarded as subject to some special disorder or weakness such as being especially subject to colds or headaches, or stomach troubles. Collectively these are referred to as "age-group" weaknesses. (MIYAT - girls' weakness; DULAH - boys' weaknesses.) But this is due to childhood illnesses and neglect of early troubles rather than KARMA. Persons with the weaknesses noted above avoid cucumbers (a "cold" vegetable), or hot foods including liquor (these cause greater heat to rise to the head), or green or raw vegetables (hard to digest). The choice of the correct diet to suit one's particular condition is important.

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Bodily exercise is a prime consideration for health. Calisthenics or sports for this purpose are unknown or unrecognized and by " healthful exercise " is meant everyday work activities. Regular daily motion is regarded as necessary for health, and a purgative is taken regularly once a month. The idea is to " clean out disease ". Purgatives are taken first in most sicknesses. This is followed by drinking preparations in hot water to induce perspiration along with woolen blankets. The colour of the urine is checked "daily" since a too yellow colour indicates an unhealthy condition. If so - one must drink additional quantities of water and coconut water. "Urine takes the place of perspiration in cold weather". Over-working and lack of sleep also lead to unhealthiness. The ideal

[513] sleep period is from 8 p.m. to 6 a.m. with a nap thrown in from 12 to 2 after "breakfast".

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Too much worrying SAY_TAUNG_IO_MOJEH (mind-beating-because-body-crush) leads to sickness. This is a common problem for mothers who worry about their children's futures. It results in THEHJEH-PYEIEH (small black bitter (gall)-disorder) where the gall fluid is

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the ghost who must then render services as requested. "To rear ghosts is like keeping a cobra in the pocket" indicates the delicate relationship between captive ghost and master. An individual with a grudge against another for real or imaginal offenses will frequently secure the services of an influence master and his "pet ghost". When the victim feels the effects, as in cases of sudden illnesses such as appendicitis, heart trouble, or fainting spells, his family contacts another influence master (upper root type) to, by incantations, cast out the ghost from the victim. This results in a secret contest of magic between the influence masters involved.

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In actual practice no influence masters admit to rearing ghosts and the first-cause aggressor does not indentify himself as such. Influence masters play an important part in differences between affinal families. In this case the mother-in-law constantly competes with her son's wife for the attentions of the son. The mother will notice the lack of attentions, or monetary support of the son and his corresponding infatuation for his wife. She will claim that the wife is exercising magical control (usually through food) on the son. An influence master is applied to in order to control this evil influence by incantations, medicine, candles, and always an ingredient of money. When the wife's family understands what is happening they will also secure the help of another specialist to counteract the influence. The son is thus torn between the two forces. He is at first oblivious to this but later becomes uneasy in mind. If the strain on the son is too severe the mother may give in and the difference resolved on her part - whereupon the son continues in his former course. Often he will berate both groups saying " I am only normal, you are foolish to involve yourselves in a dispute". Sometimes the mother wins and the son thanks her for intevening and saving him. Another common situation is where a wife seeks to control the influence of another woman on her husband (when he philanders). In this case the forces are directed against the woman, who is to blame, and not the man.

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In the town centers the decline in one's fortunes is often blamed on the evil influence of one's rival. It is said that administrative

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families in Rangoon have worries of this kind - resolved by arrange-
ments with influence masters - usually undertaken by the wives of the
families. Ordinarily, violence is not premeditated but spur-of-the-
moment actions based on passions. If ill-feelin grows gradually it [621]
is best handled through the influence masters. The function of this [682]
system in the village is to avoid open conflict that might prove dis-
asterous to the solidarity of the community (as say feuding families
in open warfare).

342 like to the bamboo sticks and together with them
824 bound to the roof rafters (Figure 2). The larger leaves of the Ingyin (Shorea robusta) (8) are

8. According to J.G. Scott, Burma, 2nd ed., (London, 1911), p. 500; other botanical explanations by H.R. Spearman, British Burma Gazeteer 1 (Rangoon 1880), pp. 125 ff., H.J. Wehrli, Zur Wirtschafts- und Siedlungs-Geographie von Ober-Birma /Economic and Settlements Geography of Upper Burma/ (Zurich, 1906), p. 111; Ferrars, ibid., p. 227.

sometimes seen as roofing material, pinned together in rows /207/ with bamboo pins and
342 squeezed with poles against the roof (Figure 3).
[656] The grass roofs, particularly during the windy, dry winter season, are, of course, an extreme fire hazard and are therefore now prohibited for the cities. There--wherever brick or corrugated tin roofs have not been adopted--a roofing material, called "wakat," a shingle, cut from
355 braided bamboo work is used. As a poor protection in case of fire, which frequently burns down whole villages, a wooden hook, attached to a long handle is employed to tear off those parts of the grass roof which have caught fire and a damper, made of bamboo braided material is used to extinguish the sparks. These two utensils can be seen in practically every house (cf. Plate IV, 1 and especially Plate IV, 3); sometimes a number of jugs, filled with water, are seen standing at the ridge of the roof for purposes of fire fighting.

342 The Burmese attributes good and bad luck in
● 777 all his undertakings to the influence of the in-
787 numerable benign and evil spirits (Nat) who were originally outside the Buddhist creed, and he makes his decisions dependent on omens and oracles

342 of soothsayers (9). Consequently he is naturally
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9. Bedin-saya, derived from Sanskrit, meaning Veda teacher. Judson's Burmese-English Dictionary (Rangoon, 1893), p. 782.

very careful when it comes to the construction of his house. With the aid of the soothsayer the building site must be investigated, the day and hour when to start the construction, and the choice of the timber have to be considered carefully. The shape of the posts, the irregularities of their forms, the knots in the wood where the branches were furnish important clues for the fate of the future occupants. The number of the
342 posts varies in accordance with the size of the
776 house. Usually six posts are erected for the main tract and each post has its own name. One of the posts is considered by most tribes as the seat of the house spirits. In the Burmese house this is the southeastern corner post of the main
[764] tract. The body of a deceased person is always deposited close to it until the coffin arrives. A coconut always hangs there in honor of the Mahagiri-Nat (Min Magayi), the household spirit /Figure 3--Shan house with leaf roof, Southern Shan State of Mongpai (Burmese: Mobye)/ and the coconut must always be replaced when the milk
342 dries up. To avoid bad luck which spirits, liv-
776 ing inside the wood knots, might threaten, the
777 tops of the posts, or at least every third one, are covered with white or red fabric patches; sometimes for good luck, some Thanaka paste (grated rind of Murraya exotica) is smeared on them. Even the clerics do not seem to be immune
346 to the evil influence of these nature spirits,
776 whose origins date back to pre-Buddhistic times,
777 for these protective coverings of the posts can be observed not only at residential dwellings, guest houses, bridges, etc., but also at religi-

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776 ous buildings, such as monasteries, /208/ monas-
777 tic rest houses and wooden chapels. The bury-
782 ing alive of human sacrifices at the posts of
776 the foundations of the entrances was in old Burmese days considered as an indispensable method of protecting important buildings, such as princely palaces, city gates, bridges, etc. The ghost of the entombed—according to Burmese belief those who have been killed by violence are rooted to the spot where they died--is supposed to watch as a guardian over the building, post, or bridge foundation.

782 As late as the middle of the past century,
787 more than fifty human beings were buried alive when the foundations for the palace and the city walls of Mandalay were laid. But the protective power of those ghosts was of limited duration. From certain omens it could be predicted that the protection was going to cease, and then it was time to leave the place which was open to disaster. This was the explanation given for the frequent change of residence of the Burmese rulers. The small chapels with their stone images of door guardians at the gates and corners of the walls of the palace area of Mandalay still indicate the locations where these human sacrifices have been buried, though the modern inhabitants will not admit this to a European. At the corners, filled oil jugs were sunk over the buried people; the dwindling of the oil in the containers, which were examined every seven years, foreshadowed an approaching catastrophe in 1880. They tried to avoid this catastrophe with new sacrifices. Nevertheless, it happened. The British occupied the country and the kingdom perished (10).

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782 10. Primarily, according to Shway Yoe, ibid., pp. 482 ff. It is well known that the burying of live sacrifices at construction foundations is a custom, widespread all over the world,